
'Dessert' of democracy that leaves a bitter taste

By Claire Tréan

ISTANBUL — It was the end of Ramadan. Istanbul's great bazaar had spilled over right down to the banks of the Golden Horn and into neighbouring streets. The quarter was one huge seething mass of people. It was as though the whole of Istanbul had come down from the hills to enjoy the good-humoured, bustling market atmosphere that often precedes a national or religious holiday.

Despite the horrid heat, traders kept up a ceaseless flow of sales patters, venturing the merits of cheap underwear or Turkish-made copies of American jeans (the original articles are available in a few recently opened luxury stores and cost the equivalent of a half a government employee's monthly pay packet).

Most vendors had no licence to sell and were openly flouting the recent legislation introduced by the mayor of Istanbul in an attempt — unsuccessful so far — to put the city back on its feet financially.

Women customers at the market, stepping delicately to avoid treading on goods laid out on the ground, were dressed in contrast: some wore brightly coloured peasant costumes; others were swathed from head to foot in dark scarves and grey raincoats, an urban version of Islamic dress that makes no concessions either to elegance or to late-summer evening temperatures. And everywhere there were swarms of children, chubby-cheeked and clearly well-to-do, who had been treated up for the imminent festivities.

Not far from the bazaar of the bazaar, in one of those quiet, leafy colonies that are to be found in Istanbul, I visited a small courtyard of bookshelves. The books were mostly religious works, with gold-tooled bindings, plus the occasional volume recounting the 10th-century romantic fascination for travel in the Middle East.

Every stall also displayed a selection of new books, among them the latest best-sellers. These included a book by a woman about women, and a translation of the Koran, which I bought for my Turkish friend, who is a migrant worker in West Germany.

Another best-seller was not available, as it had sold out: a selection of articles from the Turkish weekly, *Nokta*, one of the newspapers that has campaigned most effectively against violations of the rights of the individual over the last few months.

That day, the front pages of the daily newspapers, with their pastel colours and shrill headlines, showed a photograph of a woman student from Izmir who had been beaten up by a policeman because, in his view, her cleavage was too provocative. Not a word, apart from notoriety in the press, for the young lady, in any case had been quite decently covered.

The women writing on the lands pages of the same newspapers show a great deal more of their autonomy. That is, they are just a scant bikini to ensure that the newspaper does not get into trouble with the state's new legislation governing the protection of children.

The first Turkish edition of Playboy was announced as a violation of when it appeared on the newsstands at the end of last year that Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, who has connections in religious circles, was forced to take certain counter-measures. Anything declared as "pornography" by the authorities — and they cast their net very wide — now has to be packed in cellophane, and page-



Three beauties have been forced to adopt less suggestive poses.

Turkey has changed much faster. In recent years than has its image in Europe. The mostly strict regime that took over in 1982, however, has not succeeded in imposing itself everywhere — and has allowed little pockets of tolerance to survive.

At the same time, there has been an Islamic revival in Turkey: the mosques can no longer contain the number of worshippers who come to pray there, and the last of Ramadan has never been so widely observed as this year.

The Turks have discovered Japanese cars and Banetton clothes, but their average income has been steadily falling (by 50 per cent in the last eight years), and wealth has never been so unequally distributed. Before Turkey's military rulers went back to their barracks, they bequeathed an institutionalised code to the nation.

The French military penal code which they elaborated in 1982 has never been so abundantly violated as now, and the secularist ethos inherited from Kemal Atatürk, of which they were the appointed guardians, has never been so overtly flouted in the last 50 years.

True, the Turkish police enjoy sacrosanct powers, but public opinion has never been so deeply and sincerely shocked as it has been in the last few months at the outrageous treatment meted out in prisons and police stations.

It is hazardous, using European practice as a yardstick, to try to gauge how far Turkey has travelled along the road to democracy. One thing is certain: the Turkish military has had lower its debts quite considerably since it handed over power to a civilian government in 1983.

General Kenan Evren's dream of giving Turkey an apolitical, well-ordered confederate society — of the kind that would have been in his mind can think up — seems to have evaporated.

The generals had their *blues* nerves. These included not only "terrorists" in the broadest sense, but all those who were allowing themselves to grip the country, who in their view, were actively encouraging it — politicians, journalists, and trade union leaders.

But in a number of areas the generals have made more flexible. Take the press. As long as they are careful to make one or two correct lines when they are attacking the military, newspaper editors are more or less free to do their own thing and criticising.

Politicians have changed too. The first attack suffered by the military was at the November 1983 elections, when the party especially favoured by the military was formed to become the majority party, and headed by a general, performed disastrously. It has

since been disbanded, pulling many members then the party of Prime Minister Turgut Ozal.

Former parliamentary luminaries, in theory banned from the political arena until 1992, have made a noted comeback, using their benches (and women) as a springboard for conservative politics.

Süleyman Demirel, organiser of meetings, runs the True Path Party (now represented in parliament) through an intermediary, and plays host to a constant stream of party faithful at his Ankara home.

Former Social-Democrat prime minister Bülent Ecevit is the mainstay behind the party headed by his wife, Evren Nemecetin Erbakan, revived by the military because of his ability to attract fundamentalist Muslims, and back on the political stage in the Prosperity Party.

The parliament that resulted from the 1983 elections of 1983 has been completely transformed by the accession of Ecevit, members of the 1983 parliament have been replaced by those who have occurred this May. It has become more representative, as parliament includes members of virtually every party.

But by June, when the turmoil of May had died down, it was clear that many of the so-called new faces in parliament had already succumbed to the dangerous charms of political intrigue and party politics.

General Evren, who left the army in 1982 in order to become President, wisely decided to accept something he could not prevent. As for Ozal, who was spared having to call an early election by the reshuffling of alliances in parliament, he had always been in favour of pluralism, allowing, for example, all parties to fight for the local election of 1984. This had the effect of turning Erdoğdu's Social Democracy Party into a party of the right opposition party.

This does not add up to democracy of course. From a strictly political point of view, Turkey's newly-fledged pluralism will take a serious beating in 1988 from the military line which work in favour of a two-party system.

There is little hope that the ban preventing the big names of Turkish politics from standing as candidates will be lifted by then. Although the press has broken free from its virtual gag, the military regime has not yet been entirely thrown off.

"Democracy," says a close collaborator of the prime minister, "is a word that has been used by the military regime to receive the sound societies." His message is clear: democratisation has its limits. It is a word that is not to be expected in areas where it might compromise the extremely successful economic policy which forms the



Ozal's source reports.

cornerstones of Ozal's overall plan for Turkey's future.

Ozal's recipe for the country's ill — which consists of a free market economic policy, the opening up of Turkey to international business, and financial austerity — is a striking example of the gulf of workers and government employees because it has not yet succeeded in containing inflation (which is running at about 30 per cent). That sort of solution would be inapplicable in a comparably developed country that respected Western norms regarding trade union rights.

That is why Ozal has diligently reinforced the restrictive legislation bequeathed to him by the generals, which renders strike action totally ineffective, makes it virtually illegal to form a new trade union (only one is tolerated), and which in effect disallows collective bargaining.

However, the law alone would not guarantee the lack of industrial unrest currently enjoyed by the Turkish workers. Strikes are virtually illegal to form a new trade union (only one is tolerated), and which in effect disallows collective bargaining.

Unemployment and buying power have to be looked at in the light of the fact that family size and the black economy are both very strong in Turkey. Moreover, while times are hard at the moment, they have never been really prosperous.

While he has clearly opted for drastic measures as prescribed by the IMF, Ozal has allowed himself some room for manoeuvre: the tax burden is cleverly modulated and social welfare funds are set up on a one-off basis whenever the host needs taking out of the situation.

This is that tax on imported luxury goods partly financed by a housing fund, VAT has been introduced, but it is subject to an ingenious system whereby consumers are partly refunded at the end of each month on presentation of their check-out tickets — a way of getting the public to swallow the pill by turning them into inspectors.

The economic policy is intended to carry an educational message, as are his plans for new television channels. No doubt it will be a success, though it is doubtful whether the poorest will pay much attention when urged to stop a spirit of initiative or to accept a public utility.

For Ozal, the enormous extent of restrictions on trade union rights is that they push the military regime into the arms of the left in the form of the SODEP led by İsmail Kültür, who has been elected to parliament because they did not make their way back anywhere else.

Abdullah Tarık, former head of the leftwing trade union DİSK, which was disbanded by the military regime, received a standing ovation at the SODEP congress at the end of May, while the representatives of the diplomatic corps were booed by the audience. Despite apologies from SODEP leaders, the American ambassador preferred to leave the hall.

The incident was like many from before for Ozal, who has denounced the SODEP's inability to prevent leftist or Communist infiltration of its ranks. In any case, public opinion is mostly happy with a narrow political spectrum — any overt Communist organisation is banned — and to equate leftwing radicalism with terrorism.

In addition to İsmail Kültür's imposing on his party the social-democratic line he has reluctantly opted for, there is the threat of a split which is kept alive from outside by former prime minister Bülent Ecevit, who has denounced all "collaboration" with the regime that emerged from the 1980 coup, and refused to ally himself with the SODEP, even in opposition.

Finally, it is not easy for the left to hammer out a credible economic policy at a time when but a meagre political capital out of the innovation factor in a country which in 60 years has never broken away from the dogma of protectionism and statism.

But he has not got all the time in the world. In the West, the left has infiltrated smartly and ahead of time into the economy, and into the minds of the people. In Turkey, the left is still in the shadows, and its influence is limited to a few intellectuals and a few students.

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THE international arms trade is going through a period of increasingly erratic behaviour, and like all the other world suppliers, France has not been escaped its share. Often, a customer's need or wish, his decision to go back on a promise or put it off is all that is necessary to swell or deflate annual statistics.

Moreover, the bases on which such accounts are kept change from one country to another and are not comparable. The triumphantly vaunted achievement of one day has to be reappraised downwards months later when oil prices, which frequently serve as a frame of reference, go into a free fall. The list of countries strapped for cash or bankrupt is lengthening. A supplier would sometimes even prefer to lose a contract and abandon it, a rival who would later very quickly regret having accepted it.

At any rate, 1986 can testify to the existence of an erratic behaviour in the international arms trade. Several cases provide the proof, so much so that the governments and industrialists concerned are finding it hard to draw any broad conclusions. Prudence nevertheless suggests that the reasons on their guard in the coming years, and the French defence minister is not wrong in this and to be pessimistic about his country's prospects of exporting weapons and military equipment.

France was thought to have established an unshakable position as the world's third largest arms supplier, very far behind the Soviet Union and the United States. But the fact is the competition with Great Britain is quite incommensurate. The second largest, the United Kingdom, ousted its rival, if statistics supplied by the US Congress are any indication, by becoming the second largest exporter — after the Soviet Union — of military material to developing countries. According to US Congress data, Britain's share of the arms market rose from 1.6 per cent in 1984 to 21.9 per cent in

Hiccups in the arms trade

By Jacques Isnard

Defence Minister André Giroud returned to Paris on Tuesday, July 22, after a round of official visits to the Gulf states — the United Arab Emirates and Qatar — and Jordan where France is hoping to sell arms in an international environment that has become intensely competitive.

Right: as Phasit sees it.

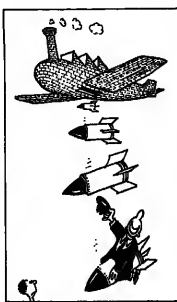
1986, while the USSR's share, which is still the largest, dropped during the same period from 37.4 to 30 per cent, and the USA lost its second place, slipping from 20.0 to 17.9 per cent.

The US Congress report puts Britain's performance down to a major contract worth \$5 billion for its own purchasing planes that London signed with Riyadh, while British arms sales to developing countries rose to an aggregate value of \$6.6 billion last year.

Saudi Arabia is therefore indeed behind Britain's success in 1986. But the United Kingdom has become disillusioned today since it was forced to agree to renegotiate the contract with Riyadh. With the collapse of oil prices, Saudi liquidities are not what they used to be. What's more, Saudi Arabia today finds itself having to raise a loan of \$1.5 billion on the international money market — which is acceptable for it — to pay London for the sale of the aircraft.

Similarly, analysts of French trade statistics in 1986 are expressing their satisfaction over the fact that French arms sales have been switched from the Middle East to West Europe and North America.

In fact, the arms orders received by France last year, which amounted to \$44.5 billion, came



Right: as Phasit sees it.

from West Europe and North America, with 10 per cent from the Middle East (39 per cent). This runs against the solidly established tradition of France making between half and three-quarters of its arms sales turnover in the Middle East.

But one swallow does not make a spring, and this is just as true in the world arms trade, a phenomenon noted one year does not become a pattern. France's results show this change in the geographical distribution of arms sales, because the United States, or more accurately its army, contracted to buy from the French Rafale fighter jets, the Rafale F1, Thomson's Rafale F1A, Thomson's Rafale F1A, Thomson's Rafale F1A.

Incidentally, here we come upon another characteristic of the arms trade with two of France's potential customers. With Morocco, for example, the aircraft manufacturer and the government are currently engaged in a fierce controversy, with Dassault-Breguet complaining that the Moroccan government is not doing its part to support the government because it held that Morocco was on an export ban. The controversy, which is practically broken, in that case, argues the industrialist, there is a big risk — and the

affront would be irreparable — of seeing the Moroccan buy American F-16s, whereas they have always been purchasing Mirages.

Next, Indonesia. In order not to miss out selling Mirage 2000s to Djakarta in the face of competition from American F-16s and Anglo-German-Israeli Tornados, Dassault offered to help Indonesia design its own fighter plane for the '90s. This is the first time the French aircraft manufacturer has thrown its engineering consultancy services to sweeten a deal, thereby contributing to strengthening a foreign, a virtual aircraft industry which tomorrow will be one of its competitors.

Given this state of affairs, which suppliers and customers are finding increasingly difficult to control, Defence Minister Giroud is making no secret of his concern about the foreseeable repercussions on the costs of the industries concerned. In particular, his pessimistic about the problems in the land armaments industry, which are stagnating and which the arms are in a "very bad" state.

Here, as in other weapons sectors, the competition is fierce, and the technological edge enjoyed by American suppliers thanks to Pentagon research credits given to the United States, where the home market is so big that it permits utilising all the possible kinds of computing, after, including sales to Europe.

When André Giroud took over as minister of defence, he removed Emile Blum from his job as general representative for armaments, suggesting that Blum's attitude was trying to rack up export sales and was likely to put the French government out on a limb in commercial deals. Blum's successor, Henri Cense, has been instructed to allow industrialists to shoulder more commercial responsibilities, as the defence ministry should not be doing their job for them.

(July 23)

Facts about drugs belie the minister's concern

Minister of Justice Alain Chénedol has announced that the former Paris police prefect, Guy Fougère, would be leading an inter-ministerial mission to combat drug addiction. "The drug scourge has assumed such proportions that it has become necessary to mobilise all the forces of the state," said Chénedol. Specialists, on the other hand, say that the rate of drug addiction has been slowing down in France.

Experiences have shown that by destroying poppy or coca plantations we starve pests, that by arresting a small dealer we also starve a victim of drug addiction, and that the big operators, in some cases connected with the machinery of governments, have become respectable citizens: their money, laundered, does not smell.

Thus, combating drugs is not a matter of repression, but of taking charge of addicts results in cure, often as self-evident improvements, but the work is slow-going, far from spectacular and discreet. Hence establishments announce a 30 per cent rate of cure.

Most police officers acknowledge they keep drawing plenty of blanks before they succeed in smashing a ring. And the price is not the answer. It is a slow and difficult struggle therefore, and solutions are unlikely. For, unfortunately, there is no offer without the demand and the need to drug oneself did not arise with the development of heroin.

Must we at that give in to the obvious and flatter the public by announcing a series of arrests — there are practically no addicts over the age of 35 — and the very existence of the drug trade is a threat to law and order. Is there anyone who remembers the ravages caused by drink problems?

road accidents (speed is a drug), and suicides compared with the horrible picture of the addict? This is where the tragedy lies and the worst for exposing it. Statistics are there to buttress it.

There are at present 6,000 addicts in French jails. In 1986, 750 arrests were made. These statistics need to be clarified. The number of arrests is a distorted picture in part from the fact that police officers responsible for combating addiction have been

strengthened. The staff of the Office Central de Répression du Trafic des Stupéfiants (OCTS) and the Paris drugs and vice squad have increased by 30 and 40 per cent of addicts at the Fleury-Mérogis jail, where the largest number of drug offenders are concentrated. But Chénedol did quote from the OCTS report to emphasise the part played by foreigners in the drug trade. The reports say that "61 per cent of the persons arrested (for drug-related offences) are foreigners."

Several other observations confirm reassuring statistics and diagnose a slight improvement. The number of "deaths taken in by institutions

has dropped this year by about ten per cent. There has been a repetition in Paris of the sort of explosive situation that developed in the neighbourhoods of Belleville, République and Iot Chalon. In addition, a certain saturation of the market and a disinflation of the retail trade can be noted.

These encouraging signs perhaps signal the success of the French "model" (let fingers add) prompted by Dr Claude Olivenstein, who knows how to hold the balance between liberal conscience, prevention and repression. "Addicts," he says, "are themselves become more obedient and normative. If they take barbiturates and other legal drugs, it is often so as not to fall foul of the law. When they come to us today, they don't want to kick the habit, they want to get back into society."

Rock stars are not making as many converts as they used to. In North Africa, even, singers like Karim Kaci are even campaigning against hard legal drugs. It is new attitudes and realities which for the first time in 15 years should give the authorities cause for optimism. Why raise the bugaboo of drugs?

(July 20/21)

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Averell Harriman, Tireless Champion Of Better Relations

W. AVERELL HARRIMAN, whose service to the nation in peace and war was unique in its breadth and longevity, died on Saturday last week at the age of 94.

For half a century, as the agent of presidents or as an elder statesman, Harriman was at the center of efforts to establish practical working relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. He was one of the first to warn of the dangers of Soviet expansion at the end of World War II, and later he was one of the first to champion reduced tensions between the two superpowers in order to avert World War III. This brought him under political attack first as a war hawk, then as a naïve dove, but his objective never changed.

In 1933 he negotiated the first major arms control pact between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Limited Test Ban Treaty, prohibiting nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

The office he held ranged from ambassador to Moscow and Washington, to commerce, governor of New York, undersecretary of state, and negotiator in wars in Laos and Vietnam. Above all, he was a multibillionaire behind-the-scenes player, ready to carry the globe for Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, or any other president who asked him.

When they ceased asking, Harriman went on his own. In June 1963, when he was 91, with eight leucocytes in his blood but with his determination undiminished, he made his last mission to Moscow, to meet with Soviet leader Yuri V. Andropov. He

pragmatic power terms the Soviet leadership saw him as a select member of the inner circle controlling the United States, with the influence to deliver what he promised to a far greater degree than any professional diplomat.

Admirers and critics tried various labels to describe the Harriman style: "Honest Abe the Heir Apparent" for resourcefully marshalling technicians to reinforce his arguments; "Avalanche" for his readiness to dash around the world at a president's signal; and above all, "The Crocodile," for striking out unexpectedly to chop off an opponent's muddled argument.

The Harriman willingness to take on lofty or mundane assignments gave him an exceptional mixture of experience. His major posts were: Chief of the materials branch, Office of Production Management, 1940-41; special representative of the President in London for lend-lease and other wartime agencies, plus special missions to the U.S.S.R., 1941-43; ambassador to the Soviet Union, 1943-45; ambassador to Britain, 1945-46; secretary of commerce, 1946-49; U.S. ambassador to Europe for the Marshall Plan, 1948-50; special assistant to the president, 1950-51; director, Mutual Security Agency, 1951-52; governor of New York, 1955-58; ambassador-at-large, 1961, and again in 1963-64; special representative for Far Eastern affairs, 1961-63; undersecretary of state for political affairs, 1963-66; delegation chief, Vietnam negotiations in Paris, 1968-69; and lastly, foreign policy task force, advisory council, Democratic National Committee, since 1974.

By Murray Marder

was driven to that journey by apprehension over the great gulf between the men in the Kremlin and the Reagan administration. He met Andropov, as he had met Roosevelt, the Russian predecessor Josef Stalin, Nikita S. Khrushchev and Leonid I. Brezhnev. He had bargained with each of them through the high and low points in U.S.-Soviet relations.

In October 1982, at the dedication of the W. Averell Harriman Study in the advanced Study in Columbo University, which he launched with a \$10 million endowment, Harriman deplored "so much misanthropy" about the Soviet Union circulating in the United States, "beginning with those in the highest authority of government."

"In looking back over my experience of some 60 years with the Soviet Union," he wrote in 1976 in the foreword to his partial memoirs, "Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin, 1941-1946," "I find that my basic judgments remain little altered, although conditions have changed radically. I have been attacked for those judgments from both ends of the political spectrum. Some have called me a warmonger; others denounced me as too soft on communism. I continue to maintain, as in 1946, that in ideology there is no prospect of compromise between the Kremlin and ourselves, but that we must find ways to settle as many areas of conflict as possible in order to live together on this small planet without war."

His experience with the Soviet Union went back almost to its beginnings. He missed meeting Lenin, but not Leon Trotsky, whose coldness during a four-year period, Harriman thought, had concluded, "may have been due to his difficult situation at the time" — 1925. Trotsky by then had lost his power struggle with Stalin and was headed for exile and subsequent assassination.

Harriman, then 35, had gone to the Soviet Union to investigate the mysterious mining concessions in the Caucasus Mountains in which he and other Americans had invested. He left the Soviet Union in the late 1920s, in the wake of Lenin's revolution was not "the wave of the future," and wrote in 1970: "Nothing has happened since to alter my conviction that the Bolshevik Revolution, for all its illustrious achievements, has been on balance a tragic step backward in human development." But he concluded "for better or worse the Soviet regime was here to stay."

That early opinion with the Soviet system gave the young Harriman an invaluable asset for denouncing it to his leucocytes in subsequent decades. To them, the puritans Harriman, the son of one of America's great industrial families, was the stereotype of capitalism. While that made him the arch-enemy of industrialism, in 1968 The Washington Post Co. All rights reserved.

Two offices held by John Quincy Adams, however, did elude Harriman: secretary of state and the presidency, but not for want of zeal. In 1965, and more determinedly in 1968, Harriman sought the presidential nomination, which both times went to Adlai E. Stevenson.

The Harriman family background suggests why he might have felt driven to prove himself in public service. His father was William Averell Harriman, the Episcopal clergyman without wealth, who catapulted into Wall Street as the "Little Giant." When the elder Harriman died in 1905, his holdings included 100,000 shares in 70,000 miles of railroad, including the Union Pacific, and dozens of corporations.

He yearned for public recognition and instead was listed by Theodore Roosevelt among the "molesters of great wealth." That molestation, however, was not especially on William Averell, one of two sons and three daughters, who was born in New York City on Nov. 15, 1891. Young Harriman, with a net worth of \$100 million estate, was raised in a baronial environment of summer and winter homes that included a 100-room mansion at Arden, N.Y., serviced by the villages of Arden and Harriman.

He was educated at Groton and Yale. At Yale, where he was a versatile athlete, young Harriman, as variety crew coach, helped assist a freshman crew coach named Dean Acheson, who later outdistanced him as secretary of State. After Yale, Harriman went to work for Union Pacific, soon becoming chairman of the board, and later executive committee chairman of the Illinois Central Railroad Co.

He tried unsuccessfully to duplicate in shipping and aviation his father's success in railroads. In 1920, he organized W.A. Harriman Inc., which later evolved, through a merger, into the Union Pacific. Brothers, Harriman & Co. Even while helping the New Deal, he was alert to his business interests. In the late 1930s, he developed Sun Valley, Idaho, as a world-class ski resort as a means of expanding his business interests. He was first in the nation to order all-atomium air conditioning.

In 1929, he switched his political allegiance to the Democratic Alliance. That shift carried Harriman into a modest supporting role in 1932 for old family friend Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In Washington, in the early FDR days, it was Harry Hopkins, the president's powerful adviser, who became Harriman's patron. In time, Harriman's industrial background and natural affinity of country squares and, in the eyes of the wealthiest Republicans,

"traitors to their class," established their own trusting relationship.

Hopkins took Harriman out of the Office of Production Management in March 1941, and sent him to London, Moscow and other fronts as the president's special representative. He attended the Atlantic Charter meeting between Roosevelt and Winston Churchill in 1941, and all but one of the major World War II conferences. He was in London with Roosevelt and Churchill in 1942; with Roosevelt and Churchill at Casablanca in 1943; with Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek at Cairo in 1943, and the same year with the western Big Two and Stalin at Tehran; with Stalin, Churchill and Anthony Eden in Moscow in 1944; at Yalta in 1945, and at Potsdam that year with President Truman, after FDR's death.

After Germany attacked the Soviet Union at the end of June 1941, Hopkins was sent on the first mission by FDR to explore Stalin's military requirements, followed by British Lord Beaverbrook and Harriman, who reached Moscow when the Nazi advance was threatening the Soviet capital.

Next came an extensive tour of the Eastern front. For 15 months, in 1961 and 1962, Harriman negotiated intensively at a 14-nation conference in Geneva, and in shuttle trips to Southeast Asia, to achieve an agreement on Laotian neutrality. It was never put into effect because North Vietnam would not withdraw its troops from Laos.

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When Secretary of State John Foster Dulles released the secret record. That record substantiated Harriman's personal views, showing that when Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov requested a \$60 billion, 10-year loan, Harriman recommended to FDR that it should be granted to the Soviet Union's international behavior.

Harriman's readiness to search for compromise in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and his leanings to see both opportunities and dangers in the transition to Khrushchev's more venturesome leadership. In 1959, in a brief book entitled "Peace With Russia" based on talks with Khrushchev in the Soviet Union, Harriman advocated "all-out competitive coexistence" with communism.

With the election of President Kennedy, Harriman gained an opportunity to explore his theories, starting with Laos, from his new post of assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern affairs. For 15 months, in 1961 and 1962, Harriman negotiated intensively at a 14-nation conference in Geneva, and in shuttle trips to Southeast Asia, to achieve an agreement on Laotian neutrality. It was never put into effect because North Vietnam would not withdraw its troops from Laos.

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Conversations With Castro's Captives

By Tad Szulc

AGAINST ALL HOPE. The Prison Memoirs of Armando Valladares. By Armando Valladares. Translated from the Spanish by Andrew Hurley. Knopf, 321pp. \$18.95.

THIRTY YEARS AND FORTY DAYS. Life in a Cuban Prison. By Jorge Valls, Americas Watch Committee. 125pp. Paperback, \$2.

A GULAG SOUTH exists in Cuba today, the result of revolution launched by Fidel Castro over 27 years ago, and in terms of prison networks for real or alleged "political" offenders, it appears to rank high along with Soviet and South African gulags.

The memoirs by Armando Valladares and Jorge Valls who were imprisoned for, respectively, 22 and 20 years on vague charges of being "counter-revolutionaries" are citizen's reports of the most frightening and numbing gulag in the immense Cuban prison system. Both men were imprisoned in the hard-core prisoners were delivered like a going-away gift to the Cuban expatriate Jacques Cousteau, who went down deep into the Cuban hinterland to change the lives of the Cuban people. The last day of his imprisonment was presented to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy.

Reading about the absolute hopelessness surrounding the other prisoners in the Cuban gulag, one can appreciate the lack of the Cuban government to petty bawling of the revolution, takes the fundamental question of the revolution and legitimacy. Castro takes the view that he had the right to attempt to oust Batista and his associates, and that he was legitimate because of the effect, he says, on the bulk of the prisoners were under detention before the 1978 socialist constitution was approved by a referendum.

Not surprisingly, Castro uses the argument of every regime in power the regime's existence is in itself the proof of its legitimacy. This would be true if it were Cuba, it is the justification for 25 years of apparent brutality against tens of thousands of human beings — and for hundreds of executions. The Cuban gulag system is a terrible blot on the record of the Cuban revolution, and it is difficult to understand why the Cuban government has implemented it in a scale far exceeding the normal scale of any country to defend itself against a revolution. However, the time may have come for the outside world to pay attention to the Cuban gulag system.

Of the two books, the Valladares account is more interesting and gripping because of the relentless detail of inhumanity to prisoners. The horror is so great and repellent as to become almost monotonous on page after page. Valladares tells the tale of Cuban prisons. It is unfortunate, however, that he, too, misrepresents history in many instances. To cite one, it is not true that Castro's rebels murdered patients in a military hospital at the time of their first uprising in 1953. Accuracy does not detract from credibility; inaccuracy does.

Each year on July 26, Fidel Castro celebrates the anniversary of the launching of his revolution in Cuba. This year the festivities can be seen in a different light. The price paid by Cuba's leaders to the military prisoners who have made Castro the leading jailer in the world, is finally becoming clear.

The personal responsibility for the chaos is Armando Valladares, whose memoir of his 22 years as Castro's prisoner is a book and a political event. For Valladares, another writer whose report from a revolution's heart of darkness hark through the haze of propaganda, nationalism and stale cliché and brought the West's consciousness to a new place.

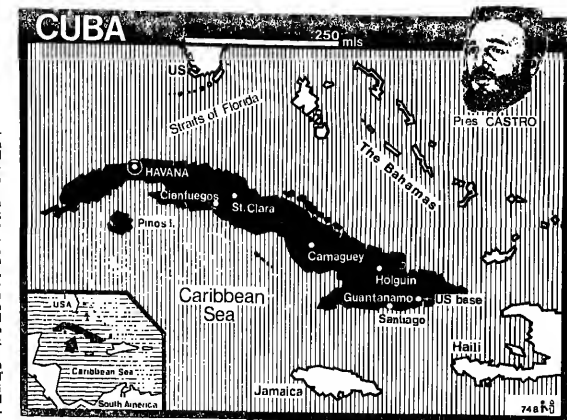
As happens, "Against All Hope" has provoked rage, extending beyond the book into the political culture. Many ask how the sheen of an international campaign on his behalf, following the publication in Europe of the memoirs, had been suggested out of prison. He had been imprisoned for

to prison, were among tens of thousands of "politicals" serving long sentences during the '60s and '70s. When the Cuban government was young, it was never clear between 160 and 200 political prisoners held in Cuban penal colonies, but because of them held for over a quarter-century, but because there is no way of verifying it, the number could be much higher. The most striking aspect of the Cuban gulag, apart from the extraordinary inhumanity and cruelty described by Valladares and Valls and other released prisoners, is the irrationality, capriciousness and cynicism with which it is run. In thousands upon thousands of prisoners, it was never clear why one prisoner was sentenced to 10 years and another to 30 years for allegedly the same crime. Why was one prisoner sentenced to 10 years and another to 30 years for allegedly the same crime? Why was one prisoner sentenced to 10 years and another to 30 years for allegedly the same crime?

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The irreducible disparity between the treatment accorded Castro and his associates, who had led the revolution that was fought in the name of social justice and political freedom, and it is difficult to understand why the Cuban government has implemented it in a scale far exceeding the normal scale of any country to defend itself against a revolution. However, the time may have come for the outside world to pay attention to the Cuban gulag system.

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address) and Farrah's set with copper mirrors and decaying "light" robs based on the Batteries Palace has a melancholy andeur that encapsulates the mood of this blighted epic.

marks the end, for me, a friendship. For one exception together in the

Basques face quick return to Spain

Francisco" "Censure by the Supreme Court of the President" or the Congress's acts is work, on any day, it is the exercise of an excessive power exclusively vested in it. While the courts can do what the courts can do at their own will."

Roberts, in the United States, has been in question its decisions, even when they encroach heavily on such areas as race, civil liberties, and the segregation and morals which in America obviously is the domain of the courts. The Supreme Court's decisions lead to forcing the resignation of someone like Richard Nixon. This is the same court, in the view of its founding fathers, the United States was to be subject, to what this is to be a sovereign — a ruler — not a master, to the Rule of Law.

The Chief Constitutionalist, like the Karlsruhe Court, in the

back on long established practice which allow Spanish travelers to zones which Spain has not been able to recover for them.

These are not new problems which are a part of the "obsession" of the United States, but they are which has more than once nearly driven into confusion the United States. The United States has not backed away from responding to drastic measures which have been taken by the expulsions of Basque activists have been living on this side of the Atlantic. The United States, one day, of a political refugee was the object of an extradition request taken out by the United States, whether it was Chirac and Felipe Gonzalez present a united front, the United States, the United States, scheduled visit to Paris at the end of the year, the liberalism of the United States, the United States, not so doctrinaire that, on the one hand, it will prevent them from

Continued on page 12

The new man at the National Gallery

By Maev Kennedy

MR NEIL MACGREGOR was "delighted" but surprised to find himself being unveiled last week as the National Gallery's new director.

At the press conference, the editor of the fine arts journal, the *Burlington Magazine*, who has never worked a day in any sort of gallery, was left in peace for some time, hands folded and licking his lips nervously, while the chairman of his new board of trustees, Mr Jacob Rothschild, dark with a barrage of questions about the man or men — who did not get the job.

Turning the discussion away from a favoured contender, Mr Ted Filibury, the director of Fort Worth's Kimbell Art Museum, Mr Rothschild said Mr MacGregor, who is 40, had quite exceptional qualities. And Sir Michael Levy, who remains in the job himself until next January, added that he was not unprecedented for an outsider to be appointed to such a post. The trustees' original choice was Mr Filibury but he backed out at the last moment.

Invited to speak for himself, Mr MacGregor declared his ability to stand up to the board of trustees — his position would be no different from his predecessor's, he said, and was then immediately asked how he felt about being the second best man for the job.

"I'll answer that in a minute," Mr Rothschild cut in.

When he was allowed to speak for himself, Mr MacGregor proved to have the soft answer to turn away wrath.

Mr Filibury, who withdrew from the running, was a good friend of his, he said, and had often spoken together about the gallery. "Nobody interested in me would come to mind being runner up to Mr Filibury."

What changes would he like to make? "The main thing I would like to change is to continue the changes that are under way," Mr MacGregor replied.

Many of the physical changes would be dictated by the new

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Forty years of bomb and bikini

A FEW short months after Hiroshima, MGM launched the career of the staid Linda Christian as the Atomic Bomb. Eighteen years later, the post-war atom bomb test at Bikini Atoll was the first time the bikini was seen in the public eye.

The bomb itself had a picture of Linda Christian on it. The world had discovered a new metaphor for sexual arousal.

Much has been written about the nuclear bomb, about nuclear winter, and civil defence, megatonnage and defensive posture, but as Paul Boyer reminds us, there have been few assessments of the bomb's effect on culture and consciousness.

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THE GUARDIAN, August 10, 1986

shima teenagers, disaffiliations were always pummeled rather than liberated.

He believed that, at the point of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the generation became divided in a crucial way. The people who had reached puberty at that time found that they were incapable of conceiving life without a future.

Two cultural responses were in evidence during this period. On the one hand, a kind of mystical acceptance, as expressed by Joe Berke in his book *The Bomb*, was the biggest bomb, and so a great microcosm, and in a sense, a microcosm of the world.

James Agee, then a 38-year-old aspiring novelist, screenwriter and poet, wrote a book, *The Bomb*, which was a rough sketch for a movie called *Destruction Day*.

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Munch's *Linger On The Beach*

A midsummer night's gloom

By Waldemar Januszczak

and by employing the most banal symbolism.

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Scandinavian

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All for love

CINEMA by Derek Malcolm

BASED ON Jense Rule's novel, *Desert of the Heart*, Donnell Deitch's film *Desert Hearts* tells the story of two women's attraction and love for each other amid the unpromising territory of the gambling town of Reno, Nevada, in 1951.

It was filmed cheaply in location, but looks better than one would have thought possible for the price. Chiefly, though, it is a performance film, trying hard and successfully to get right under the skins of its characters and the time.

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Bolshoi's Golden Age

THE Bolshoi Ballet danced The Golden Age for the first time in the park. It was a triumph, despite the fact that the ballet is not looking quite the way it used to. The Golden Age is a ballet about the Golden Age of the Bolshoi Ballet.

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